SPEECH DELIVERED

BY

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Speech delivered

by

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Friends,

You are all aware that it was in 1947 that we got our Independence. Soon after that we gave unto ourselves a Constitution which itself has been drafted in the English language – a language which, it is strange to note, the protagonists of Hindi treat with bitter hatred now, without realizing that it was through English Language that we attained our Unity and Independence.

Chapter on Language — Destructive of National Unity.

In no other country in the world we have a Constitution which contains a Chapter on language similar to the one in our Constitution (namely Chapter 1 – Part XVII). Though we have acquired our Independence after a long and strenuous fight and much national sufferings, the framers of our Constitution have incorporated therein a Chapter on language which is destructive in many respects. In the provisions relating to language they have most unwisely, I would say, sown the seeds of disruption and disintegration of the country. It was in the wave of enthusiasm and excessive joy that followed the wake of

Independence that those provisions regarding the official and court language happened to be embodied in the Constitution. The members of the Constituent Assembly who ushered the Constitution for the Nation had not bestowed as much attention and foresight as was expected of them. At that time when reason actually gave way to passion none of them thought about the serious repercussions and evil consequences of what they were doing. It is only much later, when emotions subsided and the seed that was sown began to sprout and commenced to bear the poisonous fruits, detrimental to the solidarity and healthy growth and progress of the nation, that we began to open our eyes and realise the evil potentialities of the provisions contained in the Chapter on language.

Working of Disintegrating forces.

The result is that the States of Manipur and Nagaland have even defied the Constitution and have openly declared English as their official language. The State of Madras has gone a head and has opposed the imposition of Hindi by exhibiting even militant and subversive activities, the type of which we have witnessed only in the 1942 agitation. On this language issue the State of Madras has openly demanded even a secesstion from the Indian Union. There is equally very strong feeling of resentment and antagonism in the States of

Kerala, Mysore and Andhra against the imposition of Hindi by the Central Government. Bengal too is in support of this agitation. All the people in these important States are fully convinced that the imposition of Hindi on the unwilling people of the Non-Hindi States is being vigorously pushed through by the Centre with the sinister Political motive for establishing Hindi Imperialism in India, against which our great men like Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Mr. P. Subbarayan and Rajaji and a host of others have given us timely warning. Even in the Hindi speaking areas, I know there is a strong current of opinion among all right-thinking people against this foolish, unwise, ruinous and disastrous language policy of the Government of India. Every sober and right-minded citizen who has the paramount interest of the nation at large and a deep concern for the future generation must think it as his bounden duty to resist the imposition of Hindi. What is the fun, I ask, in talking about national integration by going to the Kashmir Valley when those in power are consciously sowing the seeds of disruption all over the country by adhering to a wrong language policy.

The demon of Hindi Imperialism which has raised its monstrous head beyond the Vindiyan mountains and which is threatening our very existence as a nation, must be met in the same way and manner Lord Sri Krishna has been

able to meet and deal with Poothana deputed by Kamsa to destroy the Lord by treacherous breast feeding.

Why Kerala was passive in the beginning.

It is true that for some time in the beginning, when Madras was stoutly resisting the attempted imposition of Hindi, Kerala remained quiet and passive. Our attitude has been unfortunately misunderstood and misconstrued by the Congress President, Mr. Nijalingappa, and also by the Central Government. I may in this connection avail myself of the opportunity to disillusion them all of this erroneous impression. It was not because Keralites were willing to accept Hindi that they remained quiet, but it was due to the obvious reason that we in Kerala honestly believed in the solemn assurances given to the Nation by our late Prime Ministers, Pandit Nehru and Lal Bahadur Sastri and which were reaffirmed by our former President, Dr. Radhakrishnan. All these persons in authority had repeatedly told the Nation that Hindi will not be thrust on the Non-Hindi speaking people so long as they are unwilling to accept it.

In the course of his speech delivered on the floor of Lok Sabha on 7—1—'58 Pandit Nehru gave an assurance to the Nation that English will be retained as an associate language as long as the people require it and that he

would leave the decision for that not on the Hindi knowing people but to the Non-Hindi knowing people. After the receipt of the Report of the Parliamentary official language Committee, when the Congress Parliamentary Party met on 12—11—1957, he had confirmed the resolutions of the Working Committee that for entrance to the Public Service, Hindi should not be made compulsory.

Again on 2—1—1958 in the Press Conference held in Delhi and also on 31—1—'63 Pandit Nehru declared in unambiguous terms that "a question like this can be decided only in a friendly Co-operative atmosphere and imposition of any decision by the North on the South or by the South on the North is neither possible nor desirable. We must, he said, evolve a decision which is agreeable to the great majority of the people in the North and the South". On another occasion he said that by the banishment of English we will be closing the door against World knowledge for ever. Our late Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Sastri stated at the All India Convocation of the Youth Conference held in 1962 that "English is more or less a common language of all States and communications between the States and Centre is in English and if English were to be dropped, India would be disintegrated and the question of language should be considered in a wider context, – the context of national integration."

Dr. Radhakrishnan, our former President, while addressing the Joint Session of the Parliament on 17--2—1965 declared to the Nation that the assurances given by Pandit Nehru and reaffirmed by Mr. Sastri will be carried out without qualification and reservation.

Breach of the above solemn Assurances.

But the moment we Keralites came to realize that it was foolish on their part to have put implicit faith in the honest intentions of our present Central Government, they started agitation in 1965 against the imposition of Hindi in the State. Not only on the question of language but also on many other matters like the privy purse of the Princes, the Central Government have shown that they have no scruples in violating contractual obligations and breaking solemn assurances.

Need for a Union of Non-Hindi States.

Friends, I need hardly tell you that it is only by our standing together and putting up a united front of opposition to the imposition of Hindi that we can succeed in effectively resisting this attempted establishment of Hindi Imperialism and Hindi Domination in India. I hope you have all read in the newspapers what that arch Hindi fanatic, Seth Govinda Das, has said at the public meeting at Lucknow

on the 20th of December 1968. No wonder, backed by the Central Government, he had the audacity to say that all Government servants who have not learned Hindi should be dismissed from service. In a democratic set up such fanatics can never be tolerated. They have really no place in the country.

Dangers of the present language policy.

The present language policy of the Government of India, supported by such Hindi fanatics, is really fostering linguistic animosities and is creating fissiparous tendencies amongst the various linguistic groups, which, I am afraid, will ultimately result in the total disintegration and Balkanization of our country. It is, therefore, to record our emphatic and unanimous protest against the present language policy of the Centre that we have met here in this Conference. I am quite confident that if all Non-Hindi States unite together our efforts will be crowned with success.

We are not Anti-national elements.

We have heard the Hindi protagonists going about and saying that those who oppose the imposition of Hindi are anti-national elements. Really, I should say, that those who advocate the imposition of Hindi, whatever may be their official position and patriotic impulses, they alone are guilty of subversion of

Indian Unity. Does any one, I ask, dare to condemn the entire galaxy of the greatmen of India who have made big sacrifices and suffered much in the freedom fight, as anti-national elements for the mere reason that they are now opposing this ruinous language policy of the Centre Government. I make bold to say that we who oppose the present ruinous language policy of the Government are indeed more patriotic than those who are at the helm of affairs and are causing disintegration of the country by pursuing a foolish and wrong language policy, which I have no hesitation to characterize as an anti-national policy.

This language issue is raised at the inopportune moment.

It is indeed our misfortune that the Centre Government has raised this language issue at this most inopportune moment when we are faced with innumerable and insurmountable problems, both internal and external – internal like the serious and vital food problem, border and water disputes, political and communal disturbances based even on the trivial cow-slaughter issue, – and external like the constant threat of invasions from Pakistan and Red China. In fact after the Independence the Congress Government at the Centre has only created more problems for us than what they have been able to solve. It will be wise and

profitable to remember in this connection that the language issue had been the cause of disruption in some countries in the world, as was the case in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and, therefore, we should not give a handle to our politicians to grind their axes.

To exist as a nation
a single language is not necessary.

To exist and continue as a nation the use of single language by all the people of the country is not at all necessary. In Switzerland 4 languages - German, French, Italian and Romanish are used for all official purpose. In Canada both English and French are used as official languages. In Belgium 3 languages - French, Flemish and German are used. In Russia 16 languages are recognized, but linguistic antagonism is avoided in Russia because all these 16 languages are given equal status. The Soviet Gazette and the Soviet laws are all published in all the 16 languages. In Japan English is taught as a compulsory language especially for scientific and technical studies. Since 1918 English has been taught as a leading second language even in France. In Scandinavia too English is a leading second language after the 2nd World War. In Italy and Spain English has made considerable head way. In the Middle Eastern Countries bordering the Mediteranean French used to be

popular in the past, but English is now widely used. In Polland and Czechoslovika and other Eastern European Countries English is widely known and studied According to U. Thant in the U N. Secretariat French which was predominent at one time has now been replaced by English.

When countries like the above are able to get on prosperously with more than one language without impairing their national solidarity, one fails to understand why we in India should be over anxious to insist upon the use of one language, and that too the most undeveloped one according to our Constitution. If in the name of unity Government are advocating the use of a single language, Hindi, on the false pretext that it is the language of the majority of the people of India, I would in all earnestness ask them whether they are prepared to insist upon the minorities in India, namely the Mohamadans, Christians and others to relinguish their own relingious faiths and embrace Hinduism which is admittedly the religion of the majority in India.

English is a World Language.

English is not now the language of the Englishmen alone. It has become a world language. Mr. U. Thant, the U. N. Secretary General, has reported in 1967 that in 75 out of

85 countries in the world English is taught and in 40 out of this 75 it is made compulsory. From a statistics published in the Swarajya it is seen that in 56 out of 59 countries in the world, English is used for all international purposes and in 49 countries it is used both as international and domestic language. As pertinently observed by one of the honourable judges of the Bombay High Court a nation may speak a language but language really has no nationality.

Hindi is neither the national language nor the language of the majority.

Two wrong and absurd notions prevail among some of our countrymen as the result mostly of false propaganda. One of these is that Constitution has declared Hindi as the National language of the country and the other is that Hindi is the language spoken by the majority of the people of India. Both are palpably wrong and fallacious notions. No where in the Constitution has Hindi been declared as our sole national language or common language. The Constitution has recognised now 15 languages as the nation's languages and God alone knows how many more are going to be recognised hereafter. There is agitation going on for the recognition of Maithili Language.

The census figures of 1961 reveal that the percentage of Hindi speaking peop'e is only 42%. Even this percentage is inclusive of people speaking Urdu, Hindustani and Punjabi. In no sense can this 42% be said to be a majority of the population. Why should this undeveloped language spoken by the so-called 42% be thrust upon a majority of 58%.

Real object of the language policy.

The reason for all this is quite obvious. By the present language policy an attempt is being made by the illiterate minority to rule the literate majority in the Non-Hindi States. There was no united India at any time and there is no national or common language for the country as a whole. Though our Constitution envisages a common citizenship for all, the irrefutable fact is that India still remains as it were before as a country inhabited by people having diverse religious faiths like Hinduism, Mohamadanism, Christanity and the like and having also different civilization like the Aryan and Dravidian, different culture, customs and manners and also having separate personal laws and speaking different languages and dialects, India is still a conglomeration of many hostile races, castes, tribes, nationalities and religious groups. How can the people of such a country be called a nation in the true sense? Even the Constitution envisages India

only as a union of States, using different languages and enjoying freedom save in respect of matters pertaining to defence, communication and foreign policy.

In the above set up the true intention of the Central Government, which is mainly controlled by the Hindi fanatics in the North, is to establish a Hindi Imperialism or domination in the Country. Already the people of Hindi speaking areas have established a sort of political, industrial, commercial and economic supermacy over the Non-Hindi speaking States. By thrusting Hindi on us, as observed by Rajaji, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. P. Subbarayan and very many others, the Hindi fanatics want to complete this domination over us. No self respecting Indian of Non-Hindi States can tolerate such an attempt at domination.

Chapter on language is misunderstood and misconstrued.

Regarding language the Constitution has recognised 14 (now 15 by an amendment), different languages as the national languages, of the people of India out of the 179 languages and 544 dialects spoken in the country according to the linguistic survey. It may look paradoxical to have 15 languages as national languages for a nation, but there is nothing strange in a nation like India with 3 national names, - India, Bharath and Hindustan and 3

national songs snch as Janagana Mana, Vande Matharam and Hindustan Hamara. There is nothing strange in these matters. When there is no common religion and culture and no single thing in common for the whole people of India where is the foundation for the insistence of a single language for the whole of India? Is not Russia having 16 languages from out of the 200 languages and dialects spoken in that country?

English is also a mother tongue.

The Constitution does not provide for a single national or common language for the people of India. On the other hand it has now recognized 15 different languages. Besides the 15, English is used through out as a link language and is further used as the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians who also form a section of the Indian population. Pandit Nehru himself has admitted on the floor of Lok Sabha that English should be considered as the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians and that Anglo-Indian Schools should continue to enjoy facilities for teaching English language. When English is thus recognized as the mother tongue of a section of the people of India, how can any sensible Indian taboo it as a foreign language?

Since the spirit of nationalism was conceived and nurtured in India in the English language, the English language can rightly be

called the national language of the country, a language which the nation has been using well neigh for more than 2 centuries. The spirit of nationalism sprung up and it was nurtured in the country through the medium of English and finally culminated in the Constitution drafted in English after the Independence.

Difference between official language and national language.

Official language is different from national language. A national language is one spoken by the large majority of the people inhabiting a country. Official language is one which is used for the official or administrative purposes, such as communications between States interse and the States and Centre and also for all international purposes. Article 343(1) of the Constitution only lays down that Hindi in Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union. For international purposes none of the 15 languages including Hindi can be said to be a fit one. When our Constitution itself has recognised 15 languages, why should one out of them, especially the most undeveloped of them be selected for a favoured treatment. Art. 351 of the Constitution itself has declared that Hindi is an undeveloped language which requires enrichment with the aid of the other languages included in Schedule VIII. This privileged and unique status intended to be given to Hindi over the other much developed

languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kanarese at enormous costs from the exchequer is sure to create a militant linguism which will ultimately lead to the disintegration of the country. Hindi cannot satisfy any of our national requirements. It is of very little use for carrying on international, cultural or commercial intercourse with the outside world. For acquiring scientific, medical and technical knowledge neither Hindi nor any other regional language specified in Schedule VIII is now fit. The discrimination and preference shown for Hindi has already created a profound regional hostility between the various linguistic groups. This sort of linguistic animosity and rivalry is rapidly paving the way for the total Balkanization of India.

There is no necessity also for thrusting Hindi as a link language. A link language is intended for the intelligentia or the elites of the country for intellectual intercourse and for exchange of thoughts and ideas. English alone can now serve as a vehicle for the above purpose. A link language is not needed for the ordinary citizen, for the tillers of the soil or for other labourers and coolies.

Constitutional provisions examined.

The authors of the Constitution were fully conscious that Hindi could not occupy the status of an official language in the near future.

That was exactly the reason why they introduced Article 343(2) providing for the continuance and use of English language for 15 years more from the date of the Constitution. Further, even after 15 years if the Parliament thought that Hindi could not replace English they can by virtue of Art. 343(3) extend the period indefinitely by an ordinary legislative enactment without seeking to amend the Constitution by a 2/3 majority. Instead of attempting such a legislative enactment the Government have, by passing an Amendment Act and Resolution, seriously hurt the feelings of the large majority of the people of India occupying the 13 out of the 19 Non-Hindi Speaking States.

On 31-1-1963 Pandit Nehru rightly said that the language question is one which ought to be decided in a friendly co-operative atmosphere and imposition of any decision by the North on the South or by the South on the North is neither possible nor desirable. Is this what the Government have done or are aiming to do? It was in the wave of national enthusiasm and excessive joy that followed Independence that these language provisions in the Constitution happened to find a place therein. If whip had not been issued to the Congress members of the Constituent Assembly and freedom of vote had been allowed to them, the fate of Art. 343 would, no doubt, have been

different. So also in the Lok Sabha when the language Amendment Bill and the Resolution came up for consideration, if freedom of vote had been allowed to the Congress members the result would have been totally different and the present unrest and unpleasant situation could have been safely avoided.

The present partiality and preference shown to one of the 15 languages will certainly foster strong regional antagonism among the different linguistic groups which will ultimately bring about the disruption of the national unity. Everyone knows that if any special favouritism is shown by a parent to one of his children it will create family discord and unpleasantness. Same will no doubt be the result in a country if Government begin to give any privileged position and status to any one of the 15 regional languages. Any good Government would have desisted from creating such a situation in the country.

Imposition of Hindi will not accelerate the unity of the country. It will create only hostility between the different linguistic groups. It will only foster bitter heart burning and rankling instead of producing unity. When a principle of justice is materially ignored we cause a wound which will not heal easily. He who points out this is not the offender but he who inflicts the same.

A language cannot be imposed by force, threat or inducement.

History has taught us that no religion or language could be thrust on others by force, threat or inducement. The Hindi fanatics who dream that it could be done by these means will soon be disillusioned. Force will always generate force and not surrender.

A majority rule is always different from democracy. The former is the rule by force and violence. It is such a kind of rule that the Central Government was having in the matter of passing the Language Amendment Act and the Resolution. In a true democracy opinion of the minority is never completely flouted. The imposition of Hindi is stoutly opposed by the Madras Government and we in Kerala are happy that our Chief Minister has taken a bold stand at Jaipur where he declared that if this kind of unwise language policy is pursued by the Centre he too will be forced to join Mr. Annadurai, the Chief Minister of Madras. In a letter addressed to me he had made his above stand clear to us.

Hindi cannot be developed by preparing a glossary and insisting others to use the same.

A language cannot be developed by sitting in an arm chair, coining words, preparing a glossary and compelling the use of such coined

words. Every language must grow spontaneously of its own accord and of its own intrinsic merits. For the growth of a language there must be an inner surge for the intellectual people who alone can appreciate the value of language. A language like religion cannot be forced down upon an unwilling people.

English not forced down upon us by the Britishers.

It is wrong to say that English language has been forced down on us by the Britishers On the other hand it was our own men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy who requested the British Government to start English Schools in India for imparting European knowledge. Both he and Surendranath Banerji went to the extent of thanking the Britishers for having given us the opportunity to learn Fnglish and inbibe through it European knowledge. In fact at that time there was very strong opposition in England because the Englishmen at home feared that they may lose India if English Language and English democratic institutions were given to us. That fear has now turned to be true.

Unlike our present Government the Britishers never aimed to kill our regional languages by thrusting their language on us. If we refer to Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of

1854 which is considered to be the Magna Carta of Education in India, we will find how impartial the British administrators were. The Despatch stated that regional languages spoken by the people of India will be duly encouraged and English education will be given for acquiring European knowledge. Hence, there is therefore no foundation for making the allegation that English was thrust on us by the then ruling party.

Impact of English on Regional languages.

There is again no foundation for the fear that English, if continued, will kill Hindi and other regional languages of India. Though we have been studying English for the past two centuries and more it has not killed anyone of our regional languages. Everyone of the regional languages of India has only developed, improved and enriched by the impact of English by a process of free and liberal absorption of words. Every language develop like that. The Malayalam language has developed tremendously on account of its impact with English and other languages and we find that it has now $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of words. I think similar is the advantage which Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Marathi and Bengali have gained by similar impact. The English language too has developed like that. In 1900 there were only 2 lakhs of words in the Oxford Dictionary. Now it has increased to 6 lakhs.

English should not be thrown out as a foreign language.

English should not be thrown out as a foreign language. To us in the South, in that sense, Hindi is also an equally foreign language. When English is the mother tongue of a section of Indians namely the Anlo-Indians how can it be said to be a foreign language. Further, no language can be rejected as foreign. A people may speak a language but language has no nationality.

We are living in a rapidly advancing and changing world and English which has become a world language is an easy medium or vehicle for exchanging ideas and thoughts. After the II World War the U. N. and other international organisations are trying to bring the nations of the World closer and closer. From this stage we are clearly moving towards realization of a one World Government. Hence it is absolutely essential to keep English which has attained the status of a World language to our great advantage. For unity of thought and ideas, for uniformity of laws and administration it is necessary to retain English. To throw away English, as Pandit Nehru once remarked, is to throw away the treasure of knowledge for ever.

The works of Swami Vivakananda, Aurabindo, Tagore, Dr. Radhakrishnan, Pandit

Nehru and others are all in English and they are indeed a national asset. It is through English language that they were able to carry India's message abroad. Any crusade against English should therefore be resisted with all our might.

It is because of the wide spread English education that we have been able to send several thousands of our people to different parts of the world. From a statement published by Ambassador Bowles in the American Reporter we find that more than 50,000 Indians are in America, either studying and undergoing training or employed as Professors, Lecturers and Research Scholars. Likewise several thousands of Indians are in England, East Africa, Canada, Malaya and Ceylon etc. In fact in every nook and corner of the world we can find several Indians. How many Indian families are being maintained by such men who have gone abroad. Banishment of English from our midst will certainly affect adversely our economic position as well. Our tourist industry will also be considerably affected if English is totally banished from the country.

Percentage of English knowing people of India.

The statement by Morarji Desai in London that only 2% of the Indians alone know English is nothing but a travesty of truth. If correct

statistics are taken, I am sure that the percentage of English knowing people will be higher than the percentage of Hindi knowing people. Every year in Kerala something like one and a half lakhs of students appear for the school final examination. Similarly from other States in the country also large number of students appear every year for such examinations. Besides these what about the older generation of English knowing people?

Medium of Instruction in Schools and Colleges.

Education in a State subject and the Centre Government is not justified in interfering with the education policy of the State Governments. When Hindi is not declared to be the national language of India, for that matter we have 15 languages recognised in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution, the interference from the Centre in the Education policy of the States is quite uncalled for and thoroughly unwarranted. There is no moral justification for the Centre to spend huge amounts for establishing about 118 Centre Schools in the various States for mainly teaching Hindi and also separate Hindi training Colleges in the States. When we are repeatedly told that there are no sufficient funds for procuring rice and other food materials, what is the justification for allotting 19 crores of Rupees, most of

which is set apart for developing and propagating Hindi alone, which is after all only one of the 15 regional languages?

None of the 15 regional languages is now fit to be adopted as the medium of instruction especially in Colleges and Universities, particularly for imparting instructions in scientific, medical, legal and technical courses. It is not possib'e or easy to study nuclear physics or other similar subjects in any of the regional languages, especially in Hindi which is the most undeveloped language among the 15 regional languages recognised by the Constitution. Out of a false spirit of nationalism Ceylon banished English in 1956 and introduced Sinhalee as the medium of instruction in their educational institutions. But now, after 12 years of bitter experience, their Education Commission has recommended a switch back to English. No sane and reasonable Indian would wish to have such an experience. In the name of false nationalism one should not ruin the country and its future generation. With the banishment of English we will have to remain as frogs in the well. If regional languages alone become the medium of instruction, our Universities will almost become a stranger to the others in the matter of interplay of thoughts and ideas. English should not, therefore, be banished from our secondary schools and Colleges. A language started at a

later stage cannot be studied well and easily. It must be started early and speaking spread over a period of several years.

The three language formula.

The three language formula is nothing but a great dupe. By this the attempt is to thrust in Hindi through the back door and kill every other regional language. I need hardly tell you how the other regional languages are going to suffer if Hindi is pushed to the forefront and compulsorily taught in every school and used in every sphere. It is admitted by Mr. Chavan himself that the 3 language formula will certainly create an additional burden on the school going children of the Non-Hindi States. When the Students of the Non-Hindi States have to unnecessarily tax their brain by studying 3 languages it is possible that the students in the Hindi areas can easily manage with two languages and mostly with one single language, namely the Hindi Language. Further what is the earthly use or particular advantage for a student of Hindi area in studying only one of the several Southern languages. Friends, we in the Non-Hindi States must have the boldness and courage to say that we are not prepared to accept anything other than a two language formula, namely English and our mother tongue. It is indeed gratifying to note that the Kerala Government has passed an Act

adopting Malayalam as the official language and English as the link language.

Language to be used in Courts and in Legislatures.

Regarding the language to be used in Courts and Legislatures the provisions in the Constitution are entirely different. Art. 348 has omitted these fields from the automatic 15 years period and has provided that unless Parliament otherwise prescribed the language for legislation and judicial administration shall be the English Language. Constitution has also laid down that the authentic text in these matters shall be the English text. Recently, you may remember when the question of translation of all our laws into Hindi came up for consideration, Mr. Chavan pointed out the difficulty of carrying out this proposal without an amendment of the Constitutional provision. This has also been made clear, by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court while inaugurating the Hindi Translation of the Supreme Court Reports.

If the regional languages are used in the various High Courts and Hindi in the Supreme Court it will certainly cause the breakdown of our judicial system. If this switch over from English to the regional languages is made, then all existing Central and State laws, Rules and Notifications etc., and the Law Reports of

our former Federal Court, the Supreme Court and of all the High Courts in India will have to be translated into all the 15 languages. Besides, the Law Reports of England, America, Canada and other civilized Countries, which are almost daily used in the Supreme Court and High Courts have also to be translated into the different regional languages. For comparative studies parallel laws of other countries have also to be translated into all the regional languages. How all this will be possible when we have not got suitable vocabulary in our regional languages? What tremendous expenditure will have to be incurred from the public offers, - expenditure which could be more profitably used for nation building activities? If English is totally banished from our midst how is this translation staff to be replenished in future.

For a uniform administration of laws all judges and lawyers will have to study all the 15 languages. So, the switch over to regional languages in Courts will certainly tell upon the efficiency and proficiency of lawyers and judges. It will preclude the mobility of lawyers and judges and Art. 222 of the Constitution will be rendered nugatory. The result will be a complete break down of the efficient judicial system which we have built up in the country. After the switch over the legal systems of other civilized countries in the world by which we

are benefitted are going to become closed systems for us for ever.

Translation work and its difficulties

It is indeed a herculean task and a colossal waste of public money, time and energy to embark upon this stupendous task of translation of all laws, rules and notifications and law reports and also all literary, scientific and technical books into Hindi. From the Report published by the Indian Science Congress Association, we find that in the scientific domain itself every month, something like 600 journals and magazines, and 12,000 to 13,000 books are imported into India on various science which are published in the U. K., U. S. A., and U. S. S. R., and other advanced countries. How is it possible to keep pace with the translation work of all these works? If English is 'completely displaced from our country where can we have and how can we replenish the staff for doing the translation work in future?

How to avert Hindi Domination?

Since the date of Independence we have been noticing a steady, systematic and calculated attempt on the part of the Hindi speaking people to establish a Hindi domination over the Non-Hindi States. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee,

P. Subbarayan and Rajaji had given us timely warning about this attempt on the part of the Hindi zealots of the North. They have told us in unmistakable language that by the imposition of Hindi the Northeners are trying to establish Hindi Imperialism by creating a privileged Hindi speaking people in all departments of public life.

For competitive examinations for all India Services like I. A. S, and I. P. S., the Non-Hindi speaking people will be discriminated and they will consequently suffer in the matter of recruitment. It is therefore a matter for us all to seriously think whether for the sake of Hindi we should allow ourselves to be reduced to the rank of second class citizens of the Indian Union.

The question how to avoid this domination is engaging the anxious and serious attention of all right thinking people of India. With the present voting strength in the Parliament, U. P., M. P., Bihar and Rajasthan can dictate their mind to the rest of India. Already a sort of political, economic and industrial supermacy has been established by them over us. By imposing Hindi they are now aiming to complete this domination. By a dress regulation they are compelling our school going girls in the Central Schools to wear the North Indian dress also. This existing and

perpetual danger arising from a brute majority in the Parliament can be avoided only if we are able to secure some safeguards either by geremandering the Constituences or by getting equal representation atleast in the Rajya Sabha just as in America and Russia where we find equal representation is given to every federal unit however small in size it may be. The next move must be to get the Constitution amended so as to achieve this object. Otherwise this danger and menace will continue for ever.

Conclusion.

It has therefore become an absolute necessity for our self preservation and protection that atleast all the Non-Hindi States join together and put up a united front for achieving all our above aims.

I would, therefore appeal to all right-minded people of the Non-Hindi States, irrespective of castes, creed and political affiliations, to unite and stand together and fight for our existence as self respecting people of the Union.

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